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Abstract

An essay, study guide, and model instructional unit focus on the experiences of the Nazi holocaust in an endeavor to remind all men that they are survivors of the Nazi attempted extermination of the Jews and must deal with the knowledge that such an event could occur. Examined in the essay are both fictional treatments of the event and the writings of those who experienced and recounted the horrors of the concentration camps. The study guide for teachers presents (1) the aims for studying "holocaust literature," (2) classroom activities and discussion topics which clarify the meaning and relevance of holocaust literature, analyze the "guilt and responsibility" of the victimization, and draw possible parallels to it in contemporary events, and (3) an extensive bibliography of holocaust literature for teachers and students. The 4-week unit for ninth or 10th grade English suggests activities, evaluation techniques, and instructional aids. (JB)

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THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN LITERATURE

A series of films and publications
produced jointly by the
Catholic Archdiocese of New York
and the Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith.



Teachers' Study Guide: Writings of the Nazi Holocaust

Film lecture by Ernst Pawel

Study Guide by Joseph Mersand, Ph.D.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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The Image of the Jew in Literature and *Jews and Their Religion* are two unique series of inservice training programs for teachers in Catholic parochial schools and for Confraternity of Christian Doctrine courses. Now available either on film or videotape, they were produced as a jointly-sponsored project of the Archdiocese of New York and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. These programs, which in some instances can also be profitably used in the actual classroom situation, have been supplemented by resource units and instructional guides that attempt to provide teachers with the background and tools necessary for the teaching of varied material relating to the Jews. The programs are a response to the direction taken in Vatican II Council and the initiative of the American Hierarchy. As such, they bring some of America's leading Jewish scholars to the Catholic teacher in particular, as the search is continued for the best course that Judeo-Christian relations should take in our time.

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WRITINGS OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST

by ERNST PAWEL

Note: The following text is based on the original script delivered by Mr. Pawel, novelist and critic, on closed-circuit television, and is now available on 16 mm. film or videotape. For information on rental or purchase, write to: Audio-Visual Department, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, or contact the regional office nearest you.

*The last, the very last
So richly, brightly, dazzlingly yellow.
Perhaps if the sun's tears would sing
against a white stone . . .*

*Such, such a yellow
Is carried lightly 'way up high
It went away I'm sure because it wished to kiss the world goodbye.*

*For seven weeks I've lived in here,
Penned up inside this ghetto
But I have found my people here.
The dandelions call to me
And the white chestnut candles in the court,
Only I never saw another butterfly.*

*That butterfly was the last one.
Butterflies don't live in here,
In the ghetto.*

* * * * *

This poem was written by a child, a child who was gassed and burned shortly after writing it. Somehow it seems both callous and inappropriate to talk about this poem, this painful and lingering echo of a soul, in terms of a particular class of literature. Yet this is one difficulty which has to be confronted in any discussion of what has come to be called *holocaust literature*: i.e., the effort required to disregard the traditional compartmentalized categories in this particular instance, and to accept instead as *literature* the entire range of voices trying somehow or other to cope with, or articulate, an experience without historic precedent. This experience, because of its very nature, defies in the end all such efforts; after all, language — being human — has its limitations when it comes to dealing

with the unspeakable. Nonetheless, inadequate and fragmentary though the efforts may be, they have meaning and remain of vital importance to us, the survivors.

For in a sense we are all survivors.

What we, that is, our generation, have to live with — and I don't just mean Jews, but all of us — is the fact that the Nazi holocaust was an end to a certain kind of innocence. In the light of what happened, we know now that there is practically no limit to the horror and bestiality which men are capable of perpetrating under certain conditions. And what the so-called holocaust literature has done is to force us to face this fact. Of course there is no guarantee that it won't happen again — and, to repeat, I don't just mean to Jews, but to any minority; but if we know as much as it is possible to know of how it came about, our chances of preventing it from reoccurring may be a little better.

As literature, then, these writings are unique in both their function and scope. They are, of course, also unique in terms of their subject matter. If I briefly refer — as I will — to the "facts" in which they are rooted, I do so not in order to rake up questions of guilt and punishment once again nor to parade the grim and gruesome statistics you will find fully documented in the records of the Nuremberg Tribunal, but for another reason entirely. Take Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl*, for example. Though it unquestionably is a moving document in its own right, it is nonetheless crucial for us to keep in mind that it is our knowledge of what happened after the last line was written, rather than the story itself, which gives it a dimension no amount of art or candor could possibly convey.

What are these "facts" then? The most important is Adolph Hitler's "Final Solution," so called because it refers to the planned and calculated murder of six million Jews by gas, bullets, torture, starvation, disease. The bulk of these murders were committed in a series of death camps especially constructed for the purpose, the largest of which was Auschwitz, in Poland.

Under questioning, Rudolf Hoess, Auschwitz's commander, had this to say about his work:

I commanded Auschwitz until December 1, 1943, and estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed and exterminated there by gassing and burning, and at least another half million succumbed to starvation and disease. These figures represent about 70 to 80% of all persons sent to Auschwitz as prisoners. Included among the executed and burned were approximately 20,000 Russian prisoners of war.

In June 1941 I visited Treblinka to find out how they carried out their exterminations. The camp commander told me that he had liquidated 80,000 in the course of six months. He was mainly concerned with liquidating the Jews from the Warsaw ghetto. He used monoxide gas, and I did not think his methods were very efficient. So when I set up shop at Auschwitz, I used Cyclon B, which took from 3 to 15 minutes to kill the people in the death chamber. We knew when the people were dead because

their screaming stopped. . . . After the bodies were removed, our special commandos took off the rings and extracted the gold from the teeth of the corpses.

Another improvement we made was that, where at Treblinka the victims almost always knew what lay ahead, at Auschwitz we tried to fool them into thinking that they were going through a disinfection process.¹

For reasons not too difficult to understand, the butchery of millions of people with such an unprecedented bestiality literally paralyzes the imagination, and this no doubt is the reason why so very little "fiction" in the conventional sense has come out of this experience. Among first-hand accounts, there is the work of Elie Wiesel and Miguel De Castillo who, though basing their stories on what they themselves lived through, attempt nonetheless to transform their personal experience into something that is both more objective and of greater symbolic meaning. (Their work, incidentally, is available in English.) There exist as well a number of novels by authors who fortunately did not have to undergo these horrors themselves — John Hersey, Richard Ellman, George Steiner and Leon Uris.

Though by far the most significant part of holocaust literature consists of straightforward accounts in the form of diaries and records that have survived even where their authors did not, and of personal recollections penned after the liberation by those who did survive, it is the more ambitious literary attempts at transcending personal experience and seeking a larger meaning that finally have the greatest import and the most relevance to our present discussion. For it is literature in the sense in which we have just defined it that has the real power to translate facts and figures into something accessible to the emotions as well as the intellect, obliging us to experience at least some small part of the agony frozen into these statistics. We may refuse to look, of course, as so many did even while the camps were in full operation. But, like them, we do so only at our own risk.

How did it all start? Here is one writer's account:

In his heavy, slow step, his fat hands swinging against his thighs, the teacher walked peacefully back to his desk. When he was on the platform again, he stiffened his neck and, taking up the pointer, he thrust it forward in a gesture of command. "And now," he cried in a raging tone . . . "Dogs, Negroes and Jews, step forward."

For a moment Ernie Levy attributed those words to Herr Geek's incomprehensible sense of humor, but when the students did not laugh as the teacher stared furiously at Ernie's dark curls, the boy understood that the phrase was directed solely at the Jews. Immediately, he slipped to the side to take up his position as a Jew in the center of the aisle. . . .

"Jews," Herr Geek cried. "When I give an order to the class in general, it means that I am addressing myself to the German students and not to their guests."

¹ Whitney F. Harris, *Tyranny on Trial*, p. 336.

Rigid in his military posture, only his lower jaw moving, Herr Geek launched a confused, menacing diatribe at the "Jewish guests." These last . . . were to know that Herr Geek would always find a way to make himself understood when he wished to address himself to them — for example, by beginning the phrase with the name of an animal.²

This, then, in microcosm, is how it began: with prejudice and its inevitable bedfellow, segregation. Yet for the Nazis to achieve one of their primary goals, which was *total* segregation of the Jews, a long and determined effort was necessary. There were, it must be remembered, a number of Germans who actively helped their "non-Aryan" friends and neighbors throughout the duration of the Hitler regime. Similarly, some of the clergy openly condemned the atrocities and persecutions — the outstanding example being that of Father Bernhard Lichtenberg of St. Hedwig's Cathedral in Berlin, who, after repeated arrests and warnings, asked to be allowed to share the fate of his Jewish brethren. (His wish was duly granted.) But there are few saintly figures like Father Lichtenberg in this world, and even the number of ordinary people who are willing to stand up and be counted as their brothers' keepers is frighteningly small. Moreover, and perhaps even more important, the true picture of what really was happening did not become clear for a very long time, not even to the victims themselves.

A striking and, at the same time, pathetic example of this "ignorance" can be found in the Anne Frank's *Diary*. Of all the books to have come out of the Nazi holocaust none had moved more people, and moved them more profoundly, than this book, written by one very young Jewish girl who was killed on the threshold of life. Just one girl out of all the millions killed; yet, because of this very fact, someone in whom we can all recognize some part of ourselves and for whom we can personally mourn — as we cannot mourn for the other faceless millions.

Here is Anne Frank's pathetically naive entry of May 22, 1944 — at a time when millions of her fellow Jews had already been killed:

It is being rumoured in underground circles that the German Jews who emigrated to Holland and who are now in Poland will not be allowed to return here; they once had the right of asylum in Holland, but when Hitler has gone they will have to go back to Germany again.

Anne Frank wanted to, or had to, believe that the German Jews she speaks of were all still alive, rather than victims of the gas chamber. Not even in her wildest nightmare could she have imagined her former compatriots capable of gassing not only adults but children like herself, and then processing the thousands and thousands of corpses into soap. Nor was she alone in this belief. The majority of the Jews, and even the Nazis, blinded themselves in one way or another to the terrible reality.

² Andre Schwartz-Bart, *The Last of The Just*.

Which may be just as well. But this ignorance or innocence, this very human refusal to believe "the unbelievable," however necessary it may be from the viewpoint of preserving sanity, was an important factor, perhaps THE most important factor in the terrible success of Hitler's "Final Solution." And it is for this reason that we, the living, can no longer afford the luxury of such illusions.

Here is another quote, this time from the diary, *Scroll of Agony*, of the Hebrew scholar Chaim A. Kaplan, killed at Treblinka. The entry is dated July 26, 1942, and by this time Kaplan no longer had to guess. *He knew.*

A whole community with an ancient tradition, one that with all its faults was the very backbone of world Jewry, is going to destruction. They came and divided the Warsaw ghetto into two halves; one half was for sword, pestilence and destruction, the other half for famine and slavery. The vigorous youth, the healthy and productive ones, were taken to work in the factories. The old people, the women, the children were all sent into exile. There was only one decree — death.

An inevitable question looms up at this point. Once this stage of certainty, of knowledge had been reached, why did the Jews go to their death without a last-ditch resistance? Or, as the historian Emmanuel Ringelblum asks in his diary: "Why are they all so quiet? Why does the father die, and the mother, and each of the children without a single protest?"

Kaplan, for one, has an answer. Here it is: "A mother refused to surrender her baby. The Nazis immediately grabbed the baby and hurled it out of the window. . . . During a deportation two powerfully-built porters fought their captors. The next morning the Nazis avenged the mutiny of the two porters by killing 110 Jews."

Some other answers or explanations that have been offered are:

1. Lack of weapons (only a few dozen guns were available even in the largest revolt, that of the Warsaw ghetto).
2. The young were restrained by a sense of collective responsibility — i.e., the fact that the Nazis retaliated at the ratio of a hundred or even a thousand to one.
3. Many of the others — the old, the women, the children, the sick — i.e., the bulk of the ghetto population — had been reduced to impotence by hunger and disease. "Under a hundred pounds you just don't rebel," one of the survivors has said, according to Andre Malraux.

While it is certainly true that the life led by the vast majority of Jews in pre-War Europe failed to prepare them for anything approaching armed resistance, it is perhaps even more to the point that the spiritual values for which they lived (ranging from cosmopolitan liberalism to religious orthodoxy) precluded the sort of militant action which, though ultimately suicidal, might at least have led to the killing of a significant

number of their enemy. The only ones in a position to break out of this traditional mold were the young, most of whom were members of some political or youth organization, and whose actions set up tensions within the Jewish community that have yet to die down and that touch upon the very essence of faith. In any case, the fact remains that those who considered it preferable to die rather than to kill, to die as a man rather than to accept the value system of the enemy and live as a murderer, were certainly no less heroic than those who chose to die by fighting in the insurrections of Warsaw, Treblinka and hundreds of other small and unrecorded actions.

Alexander Donat, in his *Holocaust Kingdom*, eloquently argues this point:

Try to imagine Jesus on the way to Golgotha suddenly stopping to pick up a stone and hurling it at one of the Roman legionnaires. After such an act, could he ever have become the Christ? Think of Gandhi and Tolstoy, too. For two thousand years we have served mankind with the Word, with the Book. Are we now to try to convince mankind that we are warriors? We shall never outdo them at that game.

This attitude was shared by Anne Frank and her parents who, once their hideout was discovered, offered no resistance to their captors. *Not*, however, by the well-known psychologist and author, Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, who (echoing to some extent the attitudes of present-day Israeli youth) has charged that the behavior of the Franks, though typical of thousands of families caught in a similar trap, was criminally wrong, short-sighted and stupid; that Mr. Frank, instead of teaching his daughter history and Latin, could have put his time to much better use by exploring possible escape routes, and acquiring some weapons so that, if all else failed, he would have been able to kill at least a Nazi or two before being killed himself.

On the face of it, this is certainly a reasonable and plausible point of view. Yet I suspect that, in order for Mr. Frank to have shared it, he would have had to have been clairvoyant enough to know what we know today; to have had our perspective on recent historical events. It is true, of course, that fear tends to blind men to reality, makes them cling to illusions and act irrationally. This is Dr. Bettelheim's main point. But it is also possible to take the attitude that Mr. Frank, improvident and impractical though he may have been, was struggling desperately against almost impossible odds to maintain what *he* regarded as supremely important, i.e., human values and human dignity; and that he strove, by whatever limited means were at his disposal, to counteract the dehumanization which the enemy was everywhere seeking to impose.

In any case, by one road or another, they almost all reached the "Heart of Darkness"; fell victims to the "Final Solution." The physical agony suffered requires no further comment. But what comes through in all the books written on the subject is the truly terrifying torment of the

spirit — the feeling of complete isolation from the rest of the world — the feeling (amply justified) that in their hour of agony they were abandoned by nearly all of mankind. We are concerned here not with the moral implications of this failure of mankind (though there were notable exceptions, such as the case of the Danes who saw to it that almost no Jews fell into Nazi hands); we are concerned, rather, with the impact this failure had on the spirit of camp inmates. The eyes and ears of humanity seemed shut, and not a move, not even a token gesture was forthcoming to bring, if not help, at least a message of hope.

And beyond this human silence lay the even more terrifying silence of God. It is all too easy today to reaffirm the lesson of Job, to reassert the truism that God's ways are not man's ways. But to have gone through that hell on earth and to have retained one's faith required a kind of heroism rare among men. To cite just one example:

The SS seemed more preoccupied, more disturbed than usual. To hang a young boy in front of thousands of spectators was no light matter. The head of the camp read the verdict. All eyes were on the child. He was lividly pale, biting his lips. The gallows threw its shadow over him. This time the Lagerkapo refused to act as executioner. Three SS replaced him.

The three victims mounted together onto the chairs.

The three necks were placed at the same moment within the nooses.

"Long live liberty," cried the two adults.

But the child was silent.

"Where is God? Where is He?" someone behind me asked.

At a sign from the head of the camp, the three chairs tipped over.

Total silence throughout the camp. On the horizon the sun was setting.

"Bare your heads," yelled the head of the camp.

His voice was raucous. We were weeping.

"Cover your heads."

Then the march past began. The two adults were no longer alive. Their tongues hung swollen, blue-tinged. But the third rope was still moving; being so light, the child was still alive. . . .

For more than half an hour he stayed there, struggling between life and death, dying in slow agony under our eyes. And we had to look him full in the face. He was still alive when I passed in front of him. His tongue was still red, his eyes were not glazed.

Behind me I heard the same man asking:

"Where is God now?"

And I heard a voice within me answer him:

"Where is He? Here He is — He is hanging on this gallows. . . ."

That night the soup tasted of corpses.

This passage, from the deeply moving autobiographical novel, *Night*, by Elie Wiesel, is one of the relatively few examples of "fiction" written

by a survivor. The following passage, on the other hand, is completely factual and is taken from the diary of Leon Wells, a man assigned to the death brigade but who escaped and lived to testify at Nuremberg. The book is called *The Janowska Road*:

At seven o'clock in the morning we have formation in our yard. We are counted, and the young man who had been appointed our leader reports our number to the storm trooper guards. After the report we scatter about the yard. The breakfast arrives from the concentration camp by truck. Ten men go out to unload breakfast. In addition to our breakfast, the truck is loaded with corpses, those who were killed yesterday in the concentration camp. And so, from now on, every morning with our breakfast we shall also receive corpses.

The silence of man, and the silence of God—the two questions framing the gateway to an end beyond understanding. An operation conducted on a truly fantastic scale, perpetuated not by beasts in the guise of human beings, but by clockwork executives in charge of a giant self-perpetuating murder machine aimed at the extermination of ever more and more millions. An operation which ultimately took precedence over all other tasks, including the prosecution of the war—to the point where, at the very end, with Allied and Soviet armies already penetrating into the heartland of Germany, precious rolling stock was still being diverted in vast quantities for no purpose other than mass murder. And not only of Jews, at this point, but of *all* so-called inferior races. A murder which continued unabated until 9½ million non-Jews had been killed as well.

The classic example is Babi Yar, a ravine in Kiev, where the Nazis first exterminated all of Kiev's Jews and then killed hundreds of Ukrainians routinely, day in and day out, for the next two years. A butchery graphically described by Anatoly Kuznetsov in his book, *Babi Yar*:

Meanwhile, routine executions went right on in Babi Yar as before. But the dead were no longer buried; they were tossed into the furnaces at once. Prisoners on their last legs, those who couldn't work anymore, were also dumped in—alive.

Gas vans often came from town with living passengers. They drove right up to the furnaces before the gas was turned on. From inside came muffled cries, followed by wild banging on the doors. Then all was quiet. The Germans opened the doors, and prisoners unloaded the bodies. They were warm, moist with sweat, and perhaps still half-alive. They were laid on the pyre.

But, if dehumanization was the prelude to death, the victims' attempts to remain human represented the transcendence of death. "We are all going to die very soon," Jorge Semprun quotes one of the Jewish doctors at the Auschwitz prison hospital as saying. "But as long as we are alive, let us live like human beings."

... Or listen to Joseph Bor as he describes a performance of Verdi's *Requiem* at the Terezin concentration camp:

And did the listeners appreciate the music? Of that he had no doubt; he felt the deep-held breath in the auditorium, and the intensity of emotion. Did they even understand the speech of the music, did they grasp what it was trying to say to them? "I cannot speak to you in words, I am addressing you in music, but listen to me, you prisoners in a Jewish concentration camp: The end of the war is coming. We who are the seed of Abraham will tread no more the way of the Cross. For you, too, suffering is at an end. We'll walk no more in darkness and insecurity; the day of life is dawning. Listen to what the choir is singing to you. *Libera me*. Do you understand? Freedom, freedom!"

In concluding, I don't want to imply that the image of the Jew as it emerges from holocaust literature ranges simply from martyr to hero. Rather, it is — first and last — the image of a victim. The manner in which men deal with the forces that victimize them varies not only from one man to the next, but also within the same man, depending on circumstances. Many responded to the systematic dehumanization of the Nazis by becoming themselves less than human — brutalized, ready to work for and with the assassins. Others, again, were intent only on their own physical survival. And yet, in each and every one of these books, there also emerges (even under the most extreme conditions) cases of individuals whose strength and heroism defy conventional terms and standards. In fact, the mere existence of these writings is itself an eloquent testimony to the strength of the human spirit.

We are all of us — Jews and non-Jews alike — survivors of this experience. And one of the prices of survival is the awesome knowledge that it happened, that it could happen again in our time, and that only we ourselves stand in the way of such an event. This, I think, is the true message and meaning of holocaust literature.

I want to take leave of you as I began — with another poem by a dead child:

I'd like to go away alone
Where there are other, nicer people,
Somewhere into the far unknown
There, where no one kills another.
Maybe more of us,
A thousand strong
Will reach this goal
Before too long. *

* Following this lecture, there was a panel discussion (the text of which is not included). The participants were:

1. Sister Miriam Roberta Kiernan, Cathedral High School
2. Brother Jerome Stevens, La Salle Academy
3. Mr. Jerome Martin, Fordham University Preparatory School
4. Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, Dept. of Intercultural Affairs, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Teachers' Study Guide

prepared by
DR. JOSEPH MERSAND
Past President of the National
Council of Teachers of English
Chairman, English Department
Jamaica High School, New York City

Editorial Committee

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Preface

One of the purposes of this literature series is to sensitize the individual teacher to the general subject by first acquainting him with the facts. Then, by the teacher's own reflections on what he has seen and heard—particularly with respect to causes and the often deleterious outcomes—we may reasonably expect that his horizons will be widened. So that when he finally has occasion to discuss these matters in class, he should be able to teach the material from a truer perspective and against a richer historical background.

The teachers' guide which follows consists of five parts:

1. Introductory remarks
2. Aims of this study guide
3. Classroom activities and discussion topics
4. Bibliography for teachers and students
5. Model instructional unit

It should be clearly understood that this guide is designed *for the teacher*, and is meant to be suggestive, not prescriptive. Each teacher or supervisor viewing the filmed or televised program will very likely think of other possibilities as a result of his or her personal interests and experiences. At the same time, many of you will undoubtedly see ways in which the materials presented in this guide can be introduced into your classrooms more appropriately and effectively. A guide at best is only a useful tool whose basic rationale is to aid the teacher and stimulate his creativity. The rest and most crucial part of the job is in the hands of each one of you.

Introductory Remarks

When the dramatic version of Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl* was shown in Germany, night after night audiences walked out of the theatre in utter silence. Whether it was out of a feeling of guilt, shock or disbelief, the impression the play made on the audience was so overpowering that normal applause seemed inappropriate.

Yet Anne Frank's *Diary* is only one of scores of surviving autobiographical documents which recount to what depths human beings can sometimes descend. Today, almost a quarter of a century later, most of us are still stunned by what took place during the Nazi holocaust; but, even more, at the apparent unwillingness of most other countries to take the steps necessary to have prevented the ruthless destruction of six million Jews and an even larger number of non-Jews. Literature of all types — fictional, dramatic and non-fictional — has been produced in the endeavor to describe and explain the holocaust, as well to find reasons why so little was done to prevent, or at least to slow down, the inhuman procedures once they had begun. Thus we have such controversial plays as Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy*, Robert Shaw's *The Man in the Glass Booth* and Hannah Arendt's studies of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* and *Eichmann in Jerusalem* — all of which strive to explain one or another facet of the holocaustal experience.

Ernst Pawel, speaking from a thoroughgoing knowledge of almost all the literature of the holocaust, as well as with rare critical judgment and compassion, has analyzed in his accompanying text the conditions which led to the holocaust, and what its true significance is for our own day. At the same time, through his own lucid exposition, and by vivid excerpts from some of the major examples of holocaust literature, he presents a cogent case for why more of us should become acquainted with it. Briefly, the case is that, whether we wish to remember this traumatic experience or not, the fact remains that we cannot escape it. For, as Mr. Pawel eloquently points out, we are all survivors; and, like all survivors of a harrowing experience, our first duty to ourselves and our fellow man is to do all in our power to prevent a repetition of such an event.

In the course of his discussion, Mr. Pawel answers many questions that have been asked this past quarter century. For example, why did not more Jews resist, since in any case they knew they were doomed? In Mr. Pawel's view, many of those who offered no resistance did so because to have descended to the same level as their brutal victimizers

would have been inconsistent with their faith and moral precepts. Thus, in refusing to lose their humanity and dignity, they achieved a new dimension of courage and heroism.

Of the many books written on the holocaust, some have become classics (like Eli Wiesel's *Night* and Andre Schwartz-Bart's *The Last of the Just*), and others have been best-sellers (although, in Mr. Pawel's opinion, the latter are of dubious literary value). One of the excerpts cited by Mr. Pawel is particularly moving: namely, Wiesel's stark description of the little boy who was hanged and then exposed to all the inmates in the concentration camp.

Another question that is frequently asked is: Why should I trouble myself with reading such searing and disturbing accounts of man's inhumanity to man? Isn't there enough going on in the world today without having to read about what happened twenty-five years ago? Mr. Pawel, it seems to me, has provided the best possible answer. "We are all of us," he says, "Jews and non-Jews alike, survivors of this experience. And one of the prices of survival is the awesome knowledge that it happened, that it could happen again in our time, and that only we ourselves stand in the way of such an event."

Aims of This Study Guide

1. To make clear the meaning and relevance of holocaust literature.
2. To indicate why a knowledge of holocaust literature may help in preventing the recurrence of what went on under the Nazi regime.
3. To familiarize both teacher and student with some of the leading examples of holocaust literature.
4. To classify the various types of holocaust literature: fiction based on personal experience; diaries written during incarceration; memoirs written after deliverance; reports of eyewitnesses, and more ambitious attempts which seek a larger symbolic meaning.
5. By citing excerpts from significant examples of holocaust literature, to give a vivid picture of some individual experiences (*e.g.*, Anne Frank in her hiding place in Holland; Chaim Kaplan in the Warsaw ghetto).
6. To indicate the gradualness of the process whereby the Nazis achieved their "Final Solution," and the consequences it had in human and moral terms.
7. To examine what kinds of resistance took place, and why there was no really large-scale active resistance.
8. To point out the spiritual (in addition to the physical) torment that victims were forced to endure, particularly because they believed the world had forgotten or was indifferent to them.

Classroom Activities and Discussion Topics

- * — indicates topics or activities suitable for the average high school student which will tend, generally, to be effective as class activities.
- ** — indicates suggestions for the superior high school student which will probably be more appropriate for honors classes and/or individual students ready for more advanced projects.

- ** 1. *Elie Wiesel's novels*. Wiesel has written a number of novels (see "Bibliography for Teachers and Students"), all in some way connected with his experiences in concentration camps as a young boy. A committee may elect to read as many of these novels as possible, and present a class report.
- * 2. *Class study of Anne Frank's Diary*. There is a Reader's Enrichment Series, edited by Henry Shefter and published by Washington Square Press, which contains this work. It includes many valuable teaching suggestions and student activities which each teacher can adapt to his own purposes.
- * 3. *A multi-media study of Anne Frank's Diary*. This work originally appeared as a diary; later it was dramatized by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett (published by Dramatists Play Service); and, finally, in 1958, it was made into a film which is occasionally shown on television. A comparison of the three treatments could make an interesting topic for a class report.
- ** 4. *A study in human resistance*. Yuri Suhl, in his *They Fought Back; The Story of Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe*, covers this subject well. Oral readings (of the very brief accounts), reports and dramatizations can make this lesser known facet of the holocaust come alive for the class. They should also serve as a basis for further discussions of 'resistance,' as well as the writing of original stories dealing with this topic. The teacher might have his class study the matter still further by an examination of the literature of resistance in general. This could include Sophocles' *Antigone* and Camus' *The Plague*. An ideal work in this context would be Malamud's *The Fixer*, which is dealt with in considerable detail in the unit entitled "The American Jewish Writer"; here, too, creative writing opportunities exist, as do possibilities for dramatizations of key scenes.
- ** 5. *What happened to the children who survived?* Charity Blackstock, in *The Children* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), describes how she and a Christian charitable organization tried to care for a group of children saved from concentration camps, and some of the problems that were involved. This might be of particular interest to students who have an interest in making social service work a career.

- ** 6. *Comparative studies of diarists of concentration camp victims.* Students can make an interesting comparison between *The Diaries of Emmanuel Ringelbaum* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958) and Alexander Donat's *The Holocaust Kingdom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965). Ringelbaum, incidentally, did not survive to see the publication of his book.

- * 7. *A study of popular literature dealing with the holocaust.* In his script, Mr. Pawel refers to several novels about the holocaust, all of which were written at second-hand and had a wide sale. Among these are:

Hersey, John. *The Wall*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.

Paperback edition published by Pocket Books.

Uris, Leon. *Mila 18*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1961.

Exodus. Garden City: Doubleday, 1958. Paperback edition published by Bantam.

Michener, James. *The Source*. New York: Random House, 1965.

Lind, Jakov. *Soul of Wood and Other Stories*. New York: Fawcett, 1965. Paperback edition by same publisher.

Landscape in Concrete. New York: Grove Press, 1966.

A group of students can each read one of these works and report to the class, individually or in committee form.

- ** 8. *Reading of related non-fiction.* Much insight can be gained by individual reading of (and reports on) such works as William Shirer's *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* and Edward Crankshaw's *Gestapo*.

- ** 9. *A study of the holocaust and why it happened.* Without treating the Nazi regime per se or going into any of the graphic horrors of the holocaust, a class panel (after some preparatory background reading) can discuss those aspects of the former relevant to the latter. Afterwards there can be a general class discussion. What will be interesting to see is how much (or little) the present generation knows about one of the most terrible times in human history.

- * 10. *Debates.*

- a. Two members of the class can hold a debate, in which one tries to justify Mr. Frank's attitude of teaching his daughter history and Latin rather than escape routes, while the other argues for a more active resistance.
- b. The question of what heroism *really* means (and whether or not there are several kinds) can also be debated. Class reaction should be sought.
- c. Should we (or the Germans, or any group for that matter) continue to teach the holocaust? Would it be better instead to "forgive and forget"?
- d. To what extent were the German people (in general) guilty? Is there such a thing as "universal guilt"? If so, how valid is this concept with reference to the holocaust?

- * 11. *The minority and discrimination.* Emphasis should be placed on supplementary reading and creative writing that deals with what it feels like to be 'different' in a hostile environment. Some of the most effective activities could include:
 - a. Student dramatization of a meeting of Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, as they plan to counter their impending slaughter by the Nazis;
 - b. Student dramatization of, and/or creative writing about, the resistance of a Catholic in a similar situation (past, present or future). In other words, imagine that YOU are threatened with extermination. . . . Outline your plans for escape, write a short story or play, or record the "happenings" in a diary.
 - c. The writing of letters to Anne Frank, giving student reactions to her plight and experiences.

(In addition, the resourceful teacher working with more advanced students will think of many works — ranging from short stories by Franz Kafka to novels by William Faulkner and essays by James Baldwin — that are applicable to this study.
- **12. *Analysis of "guilt" and "responsibility."* Peter Weiss' *The Investigation* and Robert Shaw's *The Man in the Glass Booth* have stirred interest in this subject. Advanced students might read and report on these works, and controversial class discussions can be stimulated. (On occasion, there will be opportunities to view the above plays, either on stage or as television performances.) The concept of guilt might be further explored, if time is available, in connection with Jean-Paul Sartre's *The Condemned of Altona*, and the extremely creative student might wish to write an original story or play dealing with the effects of guilt on the human personality.
- * 13. *Contemporary events.* Examine events in Germany today (as well as in other parts of the world — specifically, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Arab World and even the United States). Are there any indications of *another* holocaust in the making, or of any form of oppressive discrimination?
- * 14. *Other parallels.* Consider the present-day situation involving Black militancy. Some residents of the Black "ghetto" (*note* the use of the word) feel they are being subjected to mental/educational/cultural economic genocide. Examine the validity of these contentions. In what ways has discrimination been similar and *different* in the case of various other minority groups (*e.g.*, the Christians in ancient Rome, the Jews in Nazi Germany, the Negroes in South Africa, the native population in Communist-dominated countries, etc.)?
- * 15. *Class discussion of the program entitled "Writings of the Nazi Holocaust."* Class viewing of the film should be followed by class discussion. Suggested questions might include:
 - a. Why should holocaust literature be read by teachers? by students? What useful purposes can it serve?

- b. Why are the ordinary literary classifications unsuited to holocaust literature?
- c. How does Mr. Pawel categorize some of the writers on the holocaust?
- d. In what way did the holocaust represent "an end to our innocence"?
- e. Of the several quotations from holocaust literature included in Mr. Pawel's lecture, which made the strongest impression? Why?
- f. What, in Mr. Pawel's opinion, is the result of stripping people of their human rights and dignity—both upon the victims and their victimizers?
- g. What answer does Mr. Pawel give to those who feel that Mr. Frank should have taught his daughter Anne escape routes rather than history and Latin?
- h. What happened to those Jews who *actively* resisted? Why didn't larger numbers resist?
- i. Can a person be 'heroic' even though he makes no effort to save either himself or his loved ones from certain death? Is such a position ultimately justifiable?
- j. What spiritual torments did the victims feel in addition to their physical suffering?
- k. How did the Nazis try to dehumanize their victims? How did the latter try to resist this attempt?
- l. What image of the Jew emerges from holocaust literature?
- m. Why has Anne Frank's *Diary* appealed to so many readers in different parts of the world?
- n. Why is Anne Frank often not seen or experienced as a Jewish girl?

Bibliography for Teachers and Students

* — indicates books suggested for the average high school student
 ** — indicates books suggested for the superior high school student
 All other books are recommended for teachers

- *AICHINGER, ILSE. *Herod's Children*. New York: Atheneum House, 1963.
 This novel, which relates the experiences of a group of Jewish children in Vienna during World War II, has been compared by some in its emotional impact to the *Diary of Anne Frank*.
- **BOR, JOSEF. *The Terezin Requiem*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.
 The author, a Czech writer and sole survivor of a great Jewish family from Prague, was a prisoner in the Terezin ghetto at the time the young conductor, Raphael Schacter, decided to give a performance of Verdi's *Requiem*. Schacter recruited his chorus, soloists and orchestra from among the ghetto prisoners.
- **DONAT, ALEXANDER. *The Holocaust Kingdom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.
 An account by a Polish journalist of life in the Warsaw ghetto before the uprising. In addition, it contains accounts of life in several other concentration camps where Donat was sent.
- *FLENDER, HAROLD. *Rescue in Denmark*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.
 This book tells of the valiant efforts of the Danish people who, despite Nazi occupation, saved the entire population of 6,000 Danish Jews by shipping them in small boats to Sweden.
- *FRANK, ANNE. *The Diary of a Young Girl*. New York: Pocket Books.
 Anne lived in hiding during the Nazi invasion in a warehouse attic in Holland. There she kept a diary which became world famous.
- *FRANK, ANNE. *The Works of Anne Frank*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1959.
 This book includes the contents of two of Anne Frank's notebooks — one containing the famous *Diary*, the other reminiscences, essays and stories.
- **FRIEDLANDER, ALBERT H. (Editor). *Out of the Whirlwind*. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1967.
 This reader contains thirty-two selections (both fiction and non-fiction) from books and articles dealing with the holocaust. An excellent discussion guide prepared by Rabbis Jack D. Spiro and Abraham Sheingold is included.
- FRIEDMAN, PHILIP. *Martyrs and Fighters*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954.
 Another collection of excerpts from many books and diaries, this work describes in particular the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.
- FRIEDMAN, PHILIP. *Their Brothers' Keepers*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1957.
 This book contains many stories about Christians in Europe who, despite the great danger they ran, helped save Jewish lives during the Nazi holocaust.
- *GOODRICH, FRANCES and ALBERT HACKETT. *The Diary of Anne Frank*. New York: Random House, 1956.
 This is a splendid dramatization of the world-renowned *Diary*.

HAUSNER, GIDEON. *Justice in Jerusalem*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

This work offers a detailed and powerful description of the Eichmann trial. Of particular interest is the testimony given by survivors from all over Europe.

**HERSEY, JOHN. *The Wall*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. (Also available in paperback by Pocket Books.)

This novel purports to be based on the work of a contemporary diarist and on other buried records. It tells the story of the horrors endured by some of the half million Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, and ends with the rescue of forty people who managed to escape through the sewers.

**HESCHEL, ABRAHAM J. *The Earth is the Lord's and The Sabbath*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966.

A book containing two essays (of which only the first is relevant here) that contributes to a modern understanding of Jewish tradition. *The Earth is the Lord's* is an exploration of the inner world of the Jew in Eastern Europe.

HILBERG, RAUL. *The Destruction of European Jews*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961. (Also available in paperback by the same publisher.)

A study of Nazi Germany's systematic murder of more than six million Jews. The author participated in a post-war study of captured enemy documents.

**KAPLAN, CHAIM A. *Scroll of Agony*. New York: Macmillan, 1965.

The author kept a diary of the final days of the Warsaw ghetto. Four months after completing this work, he died in the Treblinka concentration camp.

**KUSNETSOV, ANATOL. *Babi Yar*. New York: Dial Press, 1967.

Kusnetsov was twelve years old when the Germans captured Kiev in 1941. He lived near Babi Yar, the ravine where the Nazis massacred almost 200,000 persons during their two-year occupation. The author has added to his boyhood recollections by studying the newspapers, posters and leaflets of the occupation period, and by interviewing survivors.

LICHTEN, JOSEPH L. *A Question of Judgment — Pope Pius XII and the Jewish Question*. Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1963.

This book describes the role which Pius XII and the Vatican played in saving Jewish lives during World War II.

*LIND, JAKOV. *Soul of Wood and Other Stories*. Originally published in hardcover by Fawcett in 1965, and now available in paperback.

Lind is a Viennese-born Jew now living in England, who conveys some of the horror of the Nazi era more powerfully in his short stories than do many non-fictional accounts.

*PILCH, JUDAH (Editor). *The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe*. New York: The American Association for Jewish Education, 1968.

Intended for the high school student, this is the first textbook prepared for serious study which concentrates exclusively on the story of the Jewish catastrophe during the Nazi holocaust.

RINGELBLUM, EMMANUEL. *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958.

This is a major work that describes Nazi plans for the genocide of European Jewry.

*SCHNABEL, ERNST. *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*. New York: Harcourt, 1957.

This interesting book contains interviews with people who knew Anne personally; they tell about her life, and her experiences at Auschwitz and at Belsen (where she died).

- **SCHWARZ-BART, ANDRE.** *Last of the Just.* New York: Atheneum, 1960.
(Also published in paperback by Bantam.)
Starting with the pogrom of the Jews in York, England in 1185, and ending with the gas chambers in Auschwitz in 1945, the author recounts the sufferings of the Jews through some eight centuries. Interwoven with this account is the story of the Levy family, and the legend that in 36 successive generations it produced a so-called just man.
- **STEINER, JEAN-FRANCOIS.** *Treblinka.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967.
The story of the first of the Nazi concentration camps specifically set up to kill Jews in large numbers. It tells how Treblinka was organized, how it operated and how its Jewish slave laborers rose up against their German and Ukrainian guards and destroyed the camp.
- *SUHL, YURI (Editor).** *They Fought Back.* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1967.
This anthology contains 33 accounts of Jewish resistance in Nazi Europe.
- **URIS, LEON.** *Mila 18.* Garden City: Doubleday, 1961.
Based on interviews with twenty survivors of the Warsaw ghetto now living in Israel as well as upon a study of archives in Warsaw, London and New York, this moving novel is about the Warsaw uprising.
- **URIS, LEON.** *Exodus.* Garden City: Doubleday, 1958. (Also published in paperback by Bantam.)
This novel describes the efforts made by displaced persons to find a refuge in Israel, despite the prohibitions of the British mandatory forces there.
- **YOLAVKOVA, H. (Editor).** *I Never Saw Another Butterfly.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
A collection of poems and drawings by some of the children who lived and died in the concentration camp of Terezin, Czechoslovakia.
- WELLS, LEON W.** *The Janowska Road.* New York: Macmillan, 1963.
A diary by a member of the Death Brigade, the group of Jews who were forced by the Germans to burn the bodies of their victims in the Janowska concentration camp.
- **WIESEL, ELIE.** *The Gates of the Forest.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966.
This book describes how a group of Jewish partisans managed to carry on their opposition in the forests, and relates the experiences of some of the principal partisans some time later in New York.
- *WIESEL, ELIE.** *The Town Beyond the Wall.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.
An interesting novel about a young man who survives the holocaust, then returns to his home town to seek out the man who stood by and watched as the Jews were herded off to their death in concentration camps.
- *WIESEL, ELIE.** *Legends of Our Time.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.
Why did the Jews march to their death without apparent resistance? In this book, the author demolishes this question once and for all.
- WIESENTHAL, SIMON.** *The Murderers Among Us.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
A noted Jewish sociologist, who himself spent time in the Warsaw ghetto, Wieselthal has compiled a mass of documentary evidence describing Nazi atrocities against the Jewish community.

Model Instructional Unit

prepared by Milton Silver

In the preceding pages, we have what might properly be referred to as a *resource unit* — that is to say, a reservoir of materials from which the individual teacher may draw in evolving a particular unit (or units) suited to his own as well as to his class' needs and interests. Such units may be brief or long (depending on the time available); separate from or integrated into whatever the teacher would normally be teaching.

On the other hand, the model instructional unit presented below consists of a more narrow range of objectives and learning activities, plus evaluatory techniques for the teacher and a listing of enrichment aids. It is specifically designed for the teacher with a four-week block of time at his disposal, and outlines in step-by-step fashion concrete lesson plans according to a cohesive, structured and meaningful pattern.

Title: WRITINGS OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST.

Grade Level: NINTH OR TENTH YEAR (ENGLISH)

Time (or Duration of Unit): FOUR WEEKS

I. OBJECTIVES

A. Teacher's objectives

1. To familiarize students with important and worthwhile examples of holocaust literature.
2. To examine the concepts of guilt and responsibility, of passivity and resistance.
3. To understand the ways in which each individual may respond to a crisis.
4. To relate, and examine the relevance of, the holocaust and its literature to contemporary events and problems.
5. To help develop specific abilities and skills — in reading and comprehending prose, in research and reporting, in oral English and in creative expression (dramatics, stories, diaries).

B. Pupil's objectives

1. Why is Anne Frank's *The Diary of a Young Girl* considered an important literary work, as well as a significant social-historical document?
2. Why should I study Nazi atrocities?
3. How can the literature of the holocaust give me insights not to be found in history texts?
4. How would I respond in a situation similar to that faced by Anne Frank? by the Jews in Nazi Europe?

II. OVERVIEW

This unit is developed primarily through the class study of Anne Frank's *Diary* — with selected supplementary reading and individualized activities primarily drawn from the suggested "Classroom Activities and Discussion Topics." Emphasis in the unit should be on reading, discussion and creative activities that will personalize the events of the holocaust for students who, because of their age, are so far removed from the actualities under consideration.

(An alternate approach would be to use another fine literary work, Andre Schwarz-Bart's *The Last of the Just*, as a springboard. Though experience has indicated that this work is more suitable for a 12th year class, it can—if properly utilized—be a moving and rewarding experience.)

III. APPROACHES

A. First day's motivations

1. Read and analyze Carl Sandburg's short poem, "Grass." After discussing the author's reasons for referring to the battles cited, elicit responses concerning the poem's basic *theme*. Note that the poem can be said to be "positive"—in that it shows the healing or regenerative power of nature over war; or "negative"—in that it expresses the idea that man has the deplorable tendency to forget the horrors of war. This achieved, move into a class discussion as to which attitude is more "desirable."
2. Relate the implicit commentary on the above to the material to be found in *The New York Times* article of April 17, 1967, which deals with the dedication ceremonies at Auschwitz. (Note especially the concluding paragraph.)

B. Assigned readings

1. Class — *The Diary of a Young Girl*.
2. Panel groups — See IV B 3 below.

IV. WORKING PERIOD

A. First week — Introductory activities

1. Debate based on opening motivation: Should we remember (or study) the horrors of the Nazi holocaust?
2. Voluntary (individual) reports on the holocaust — the rise of Nazism, intentions of the Nazi regime concerning "the ultimate solution," specific horrors of the concentration camps. The class might try to do the impossible — to explain the WHY of man's inhumanity to man. In any event, we can now raise the question as to WHY this happened to Anne Frank and her family (and to six million other Jews).
3. The closed-circuit television (or film) lecture by Ernst Pawel, entitled "Writings of the Nazi Holocaust," can be viewed by the class and followed by appropriate questions listed under "Classroom Activities and Discussion Questions," No. 15.
4. The class should now consider several introductory aspects of the Anne Frank's *Diary* — its relation to similar works (by young people, by non-professionals), its relation to the readers (who are approximately the same age as was the author), its relation to the author (revealed in its pages over a two-year period) and its overall significance.
5. A student might read *The Works of Anne Frank* and evaluate (for the class) Anne's other writings — fables, personal reminiscences, short stories and essays.
6. The *Diary* ends with the entry of Tuesday, August 1, 1944. Only several entries previous (on Saturday, July 15, 1944), Anne wrote: ". . . in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart." What do the members of the class think or believe?
7. Discuss the opening of the *Diary*. Topics for class discussion include: the receipt of the diary and Anne's intentions; Anne's own background and her beliefs and attitudes (with regard to adults, peers, Zionism); the situation of the Jews in the summer of 1942; the call-up and the Franks' disappearance; the members of the family and their reactions to the situation; the style of the young author.

B. Second and third weeks — Developmental activities

1. Continue class discussion of events in the *Diary* through the summer of 1943 (i.e., the first year) — Anne's attitude toward the strange life she was forced to lead, as well as its dangers and tensions; the Van Daan family and Albert Dussel; the subsequent personality conflicts, difficulties and quarrels, including the family

problems of the Franks and the Van Daans; Anne's education; Anne's speculations, ideals and values; her identity as a Jew and her political opinions.

2. Students should become *involved* in the *Diary* through questions and discussions calling on them to empathize with the daily problems, the loneliness and the strains of confinement felt by Anne (as well as her growing pains and developing maturity).
3. Supplementary reading would lend itself to panel discussions of specified topics, whereby the entire class could share in the work done by each group. Every student should participate in one such panel. Some suggestions are:
 - a. Related fiction, including Hersey's *The Wall*, Uris' *Mila 18* and *Exodus* and Schwarz-Bart's *The Last of the Just*;
 - b. Resistance to the Nazi holocaust — illustrated in Suhl's *They Fought Back* and similar works;
 - c. Resistance to oppression — exemplified in Malamud's *The Fixer*;
 - d. Similarities and differences in the attitudes of militant Blacks concerning genocide — especially as noted in James Baldwin's *Notes of a Native Son*, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* and Claude Brown's *Manchild in the Promised Land*.
4. Required writing for all students should be creative in nature. Students can choose any of the following:
 - a. Additional entries in Anne Frank's diary;
 - b. Dramatization of a meeting of Jews in the Warsaw ghetto as they face impending destruction;
 - c. A diary (or short story) dealing with the oppression or intended extermination of the student himself;
 - d. A series of letters appealing for help in a holocaust situation;
 - e. A dramatization or short story dealing with the victims of persecution in any part of the world (and during any period of history).
5. Advanced students might read, report on and dramatize excerpts from any of the following provocative dramas: Arthur Miller's *Incident at Vichy*, Peter Weiss' *The Investigation*, Robert Shaw's *The Man in the Glass Booth*. Class discussions of the theme of *responsibility* as reflected in these plays should prove most interesting.
6. As class reading of the *Diary* progresses, continued opportunities should be afforded students to dramatize excerpts from the book.

C. *Fourth week — Culminating activities*

1. Conclude class discussion of the *Diary* (the second year, from the summer of 1943 through the summer of 1944) — Anne's growing maturity, her fears and guilt, intelligence and imagination; changes

- in family relationships; Anne's relationship with Peter; changes in style and content of the *Diary*.
2. Refer to the Washington Square Press edition of the work for additional enrichment suggestions.
 3. At this point it should be possible to draw, as well as to write, interesting character sketches.
 4. Students should compare a typical day in *their* lives with a typical day in Anne Frank's.
 5. The heroism of the five protectors should be considered in relation to others in Europe who aided the oppressed Jews.
 6. Eleanor Roosevelt considered the *Diary* a "remarkable" book. Evaluate.
 7. Students should be encouraged to compare the varying treatments of the *Diary* (i.e., as a play and as a movie) — in terms of effectiveness as well as the changes in form necessitated by the varying media.
 8. Finally, the best examples of creative and critical writing should be collected and published in a class anthology.

V. EVALUATION TECHNIQUES OR PROCEDURES

1. Teacher observation of student performance, such as effort and initiative in securing materials, interest shown, and participation in class discussions.
2. Teacher judgment of creative activity.
3. Student performance on debates and/or panel discussions.
4. Group evaluation of their own success in pursuing the topic.
5. Tests on the *Diary* — with respect to incidents, characters, relationships, Anne's growth, values and implications, etc.
6. Assessment of individual, voluntary work.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BALDWIN, JAMES. *Notes of a Native Son*. Paperbacks — Bantam, Beacon Press.
- BROWN, CLAUDE. *Manchild in the Promised Land*. Paperback — Signet.
- ELLISON, RALPH. *Invisible Man*. Paperback — Signet.
- FRANK, ANNE. *The Works of Anne Frank*. New York: Doubleday, 1959.
The Diary of a Young Girl. Paperbacks — Washington Square Press, Pocket Books.
- GOODRICH, FRANCES and ALBERT HACKETT. *The Diary of Anne Frank*. New York: Random House, 1956.
- HERSEY, JOHN. *The Wall*. Paperback — Bantam.

MALAMUD, BERNARD. *The Fixer*. Paperback — Dell.
 MILLER, ARTHUR. *Incident at Vichy*. Paperback — Bantam.
 SCHWARZ-BART, ANDRE. *The Last of the Just*. Paperback — Bantam.
 SHAW, ROBERT. *The Man in the Glass Booth*. Paperbacks — Grove; Ace Books.
 SUHL, YURI (Editor). *They Fought Back*. Paperback Library.
 URIS, LEON. *Mila 18*. Paperback — Bantam.
Exodus. Paperback — Bantam.
 WEISS, PETER. *The Investigation*. Paperbacks — Atheneum, Pocket Books.

VII. INSTRUCTIONAL AIDS (ENRICHMENT MATERIALS AND RESOURCES)

- A. *The New York Times*, April 17, 1967, p. 1.
- B. "Grass," by Carl Sandburg.
- C. Closed-circuit television broadcast (or film) by Ernst Pawel, entitled "Writings of the Nazi Holocaust," available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
- D. Movie (rental): *The Diary of Anne Frank*. 170 min., 20th Century Fox. Available at Films, Inc., Wilmette, Ill.
- E. Filmstrip (available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; for purchase, contact nearest regional office):
 - The Anatomy of Nazism*. Color, with captions. 55 frames. Presents the social, cultural, economic and political workings of fascism in Nazi Germany. (Also available in a class study kit or a teacher's kit, together with booklets and resource unit.)
- F. Films (available from the Anti-Defamation League; for purchase or rental, contact nearest regional office):
 - Act of Faith*. 28 min. Filmed in Denmark, this is a dramatization of the role played by the Danish resistance in saving their Jewish countrymen from Nazi extermination.
 - Memorandum*. 58 min. This documentary contrasts the horrors of the death camps with a contemporary court trial where the perpetrators of the holocaust are absolved from guilt.
 - Verdict for Tomorrow*. 28 min. This account of the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem is an effective reminder of the holocaust rather than mere legal presentation.